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CHANGING PATTERN OF FIDEL CASTRO'S PUBLIC STATEMENTS

A. THE THREE MONTHS PRIOR TO THE CUBAN CRISIS

On 17 July 1962 Fidel Castro delivered two speeches which were given wide press and radio publicity. One was made to Havana bus and transportation workers and the other to an awards meeting of outstanding workers in the sugar industry. Castro had not delivered a speech for three weeks--a rather long lapse, but not an unprecedented one. Both speeches, as compared with those made in the preceding months, projected an air of new optimism, buoyancy, and confidence in the success of the regime. This pattern was sustained in all his major speeches--a total of 10--in the period from mid-July until the onset of the Cuban crisis. Castro had grown more outspoken in defense of his methods and seemed more prone to minimize the difficulties faced by his regime. He continued to chide the workers for their shortcomings, but with a tone of less urgency and greater tolerance. He was extravagant in his continuing praise of the "socialist system" and of the advantages for Cuba in becoming a part of it. His continuing invective against his "enemies" carried a tone of enhanced confidence in the regime's immunity to harm from the "imperialists."

During the spring and early summer of 1962--roughly from the time when rationing was adopted, in March 1962--Castro's public statements had been characterized by frank acknowledgments of the regime's failure to live up to its promises. He admitted miscalculations and mismanagement, with emphasis on the need for sacrifice and in a tone of humility which contrasted with the bravado that had marked his speeches in the early years of the regime.

Castro's new air of confidence in mid-July did not coincide with any discernible improvement in the economic, social, or political sphere. Increasingly serious shortages were apparent, with the Havana radio and press regularly reporting arrests and sentencing of hoarders and speculators in scarce goods. Widespread public dissatisfaction as a result of inadequate transportation was admitted by Castro even in one of his 17 July speeches. Serious housing problems continued to be admitted. Castro's statements continued to refer to the activities of "counterrevolutionaries," and relations with the United States had continued to deteriorate.

The 17 July speeches, however, coincided with Raul Castro's return from his 15-day visit to the USSR, at the Soviet Defense Ministry's invitation. The propaganda had not played up the visit. The fact that Raul Castro had arrived in Moscow, where he was received by Defense Minister Malinowskiy,

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was announced briefly on 2 July, and nothing further was said until his return on the 17th. In the interim, the Havana radio reported (on 13 July) that a Soviet TU-114 had landed in Havana to launch a "direct linkage" of Havana and Moscow in air transport and (on 14 July) that a direct telephone link had been perfected between the two capitals. The speeches by Fidel Castro that followed were marked by a change more in tone than in substance in regard to many of the regime's chronic problems, but Castro's comments on the state of economy in particular registered a new optimism that would accord with an expectation of increased Soviet support.

1. Confidence in Success

Addressing sugar workers on 17 July, Castro said:

"Today we cannot say we can laugh. Let us say rather that we can look serenely on our difficulties and that tomorrow we can laugh at them, because we know we are on the right road. What we have ahead of us now is work. Comrade Bequer was saying that the future of abundance is at hand. Abundance is still far away.... Our future engineers are now in high schools and preuniversity schools. Our technicians are just now training. We will have a metallurgical industry. The entire program of industrialization already has been set in motion."*

The same day, Castro told sugar industry workers:

"What is now dark night for the privileged, for the exploiters, for those who lived well, enjoying the best-- what is now eternal night for the privileged signifies eternal day for the humble, for the exploited of yesterday."

Castro has made no effort to conceal the fact that Cuba has suffered reverses because of the flight of trained personnel, especially doctors, engineers, and technicians. His remarks in a 27 June speech illustrate his treatment of the subject early this year:

"Of course we already know that we do not have all the teachers or doctors that we need. We already know, and it is very painful to think of it, that there are teachers

* Textual citations are provided in this report whenever possible. Statements given in the first person but not enclosed in quotation marks are paraphrases, in all such cases the only versions available in translation.

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who teach hardly two days a week and doctors who do not condescend to give consultations to the sick."

By late July Castro was stressing progress and prospects for the future rather than the difficulties of the present. He declared in his 26 July revolution anniversary speech:

"Within a few years we will have thousands of administrators prepared by revolutionary schools--they will know how to deal with problems, how to treat the workers--thousands of administrators from the working class, so all those problems will be overcome."

And he told Municipal Education Councils on 11 September:

"Naturally, there will never again be too many technicians in our country, because no matter how many we train we will always need more. The regime of the past was one of infinite and permanent poverty. On the other hand, the present regime is one in which the road to infinite progress is being paved. When we have 10 or 20 times as many technicians as now, we will continue to need more."

On 18 October--at the inauguration of a new basic science and preclinical institute at Cubanacan--Castro treated cavalierly the loss of the many doctors who had fled to the United States and exuded optimism about the imminence of "better times":

"The bitter times have passed. Now the better times are coming. What do we have right now? We have several hundred magnificent comrades who will be graduated every year and who will reinforce the contingent of revolutionary doctors, and who will give the country the contribution of a new mentality and a new concept of the function of a doctor.... Afterward there will be a river of medical students, 1,000 this year who will begin to study in 1963, 1,250 who will begin in 1964, and 2,500 who will begin in 1965.... Each day we will have more doctors and fewer sick."

"The attitude of the doctors who left was a very ignorant one, and I have always said definitely that I am opposed to letting a single one of them return. I have not the slightest doubt that one day many of them will beg on bended knees to be allowed to return to Cuba; and if one day, hear me well, the people were to be forgiving with those who left, I believe that if there is one class toward whom they should never be forgiving, it is the doctors."

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In the same speech, Castro was extravagantly confident on the subject of technicians:

"And our country will very soon, very soon--and we can proclaim it with pride--have more technicians than any other country of Latin America. The revolution does not limit itself to expanding ideas, but carries them out. The revolution is not a theory. It is above all facts, and everything that the revolution has undertaken it has finished."

Castro's statements after 17 July were equally boastful in regard to the prospects for meeting economic goals and increasing industrial production. He declared in his anniversary speech of 26 July:

"By the end of next year the refrigerator, radio, and kitchen accessories plant will be finished. We will have our first factory capable of producing these finished articles. To whom will we give them? To the workers...that is, socialism."

To the National Congress of Secondary Schools on 11 August:

"We are not working for today. Today is not important. What is important is tomorrow. Today--the present--is for work, struggle, and sacrifice. Nevertheless, the present does not frighten us. It does not discourage us. The future fills us with hope."

At a Soviet embassy reception on 25 September:

"About the results of the effort we are making--results that we shall begin to appreciate next year when we shall have increased production in every field."

To the Congress of Women on 2 October:

"There is an increase of production in the factories, of less than 2 million this year compared to more than 4 million next year--100,000 cattle more than this year, thanks to the fact that the slaughter was restricted, that the slaughter of cows was not permitted. This will permit us year by year to have a greater consumption of milk, a greater consumption of hides. Next year we will have more hides from those 100,000 cattle that are going to be slaughtered. We will have more than 100,000 more hog hides which we did not have this year. Year by year we will have more hides. This year some 11 million pairs of shoes will be produced. However, for 1963 we will be able to produce nearly 15 million pairs of shoes. Each year

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we shall be able to produce more. It is possible that for 1965 we will be able to produce nearly 20 million pairs of shoes."

These expansive promises are reminiscent of Castro's speeches in 1960 and 1961, before the sobering effects of the economic decline had been felt. He did not indulge in such fanciful promises early in 1962. He declared, for example, on 29 June:

"We know of our shortcomings. We know of the many people in leading positions who have no experience and in some cases not even a sufficient level of political training.... Some people ask why they are not replaced. The answer is very simple. We have no better ones."

And on 27 June:

"Teach the pupils that the revolution was not made on the first day, nor in the first, second, third, fourth, or fifth year, and that a revolution is a long battle, a long struggle, such as the struggle to win power was.... Everything depends on our understanding and knowing how to make others understand that a revolution is not a promenade or a bed of roses, but of sacrifices--a hard and self-sacrificing struggle."

2. Superiority of System

Until he announced publicly in December 1961 that his revolution had become "Marxist-Leninist," Castro had espoused not a "system" but land reform, improvement of living standards, and national industrialization; and he blamed defects in Western democracies on personal corruption and inadequate utilization of methods rather than on faults inherent in the democratic system. Since his public espousal of Marxism-Leninism, Castro has consistently defended the "socialist" system and proclaimed its superiority, and has correspondingly voiced contemptuous criticism of representative democracy as a system.

In early 1962 his emphasis was on the austerity demanded in building a Marxist system. Thus he told instructors in Revolutionary Schools on 27 June:

"What the revolution needs in every place of work is capable workers with the most political education possible, because the more revolutionary militants with a high level of political education we have at the place of work, the more force and solidity the revolution will have, and the more support among the masses. It is a basic principle that the revolution and the

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party are not instruments for personal gain. Make it clear to every pupil and student in the schools, as the first principle, that being a revolutionary means abnegation, sacrifice, and humility.... The party is not a beneficence; it is a sacrifice.... For this reason we must resort to the theory of the class struggle in order to give a clear explanation to the students in the schools so that they do not fall into illusions...in order that they understand and are able to explain why the revolution has to struggle arduously and overcome huge obstacles.

"And when we speak of political science and revolutionary science we are referring to the only political science and the only true revolutionary science--Marxism.... The fact that our people, all of us--some later and others earlier--have been going along making the only true political and revolutionary science that exists into our own means a great deal for our revolution--a convulsive and daring process that enters into history firmly and resolutely, defying so many difficulties."

In August, September, and October Castro no longer stressed austerity and personal sacrifice, concentrating on the "bright future" under socialism. He declared in an 11 August talk to the Union of Secondary Schools:

"We are ahead, some years ahead, of our sister nations. The years of revolution are years gained. The plans being carried out are ground gained. You, the schools in which you study, are giant steps toward the future. The tomorrow of the fatherland, of the world, that different future, that bright future, is yours.

"We look to tomorrow. Our future is bright and the future of the imperialists is dark. The revolutionary government is on its feet, but on the other hand, where is the puppet Frondizi, the puppet Prado?... They have become victims of military coups as if to tell the world, as if to shout to the imperialists: Liars! Where is representative government? They are giving up the path of representative government in Venezuela, Peru, and possibly Colombia, where the new puppet assumed the presidency less than 24 hours ago and already is faced with a military crisis.

"Where are the students in Colombia? On strike, fighting against reactionary power and unpopular measures. Where are the students in Peru? In the street, fighting against the

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military junta. Where are the Argentine students? In the street, fighting against the 'gorillas.' That is the picture. But where are the students of Cuba? Here in the plaza of the revolution. That is the difference, the singular and definitive difference."

In a talk to the National Sugar Cooperatives Congress on 18 August:

But agrarian reform is one of the most complex tasks of a revolution, one of the most difficult. Many persons thought that agrarian reform was only the distribution of land. Fortunately our revolution dared to attempt a system of land exploitation that was more advanced than its division and distribution. Why do I say that? The distribution of the large estates might have ruined the revolution.*

In a speech to Municipal Education Councils on 11 September:

"It is sad, really sad, to see the state of health in all the countries of Latin America, and the achievements of our revolution in that field are really incomparable. They cannot be compared--that is to say, what exists in other countries cannot compare with our country."

"In the first phase the number of pupils matriculated in primary schools rose from 650,000 to 1.2 million.... Our country, without any doubt, has assumed the lead in America in this sense. We Cubans can say with pride that in the field of education we are leading America, with no exceptions."

And in a speech to Committees for Defense of the Revolution on 29 September:

"Revolution does not mean an increase in minority and luxury privileges. The improvement must be for the masses. This does not mean that in the years ahead in our country we will have more automobiles. What our country will have in the years ahead will be much more farm machinery, much more construction equipment, many more trucks, many more fishing craft, because what our people need today are not luxury items, not articles for minorities. What our country needs are tools with which to work, many more factories."

* Castro had himself pictured land reform as the simple distribution of the landed estates to the men who worked them.

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In his 10 October speech welcoming President Dorticos back from the United Nations, Castro assured his listeners that

"our land will never be of the future capitalist society, of an egoist society, of a corrupt society filled with vices which have been abolished in our land. Therefore, by changing the social regime in our country another type of man and another type of woman will be produced."

And on 18 October, at the inauguration of the basic science and preclinical institute:

"The Cuban society of the future will not produce that type of man for us, that is, men such as those who leave. The men who in the midst of a society of corruption and selfishness remained pure have a great human quality and will serve as seed and as teachers."... Every corrupt and degenerate of this country has been taken away. They have made a truly marvelous collection. And in addition they have done us a tremendous favor--one of the few things we can thank them for.

3. Defense of Methods

Castro attempted in the early days of the revolution, prior to his espousal of "Marxism-Leninism," to defend the regime against criticism of its resort to the summary trial and the firing squad and to impugn the accuracy of publicized statistics on the number of executions carried out. During the early months of 1962, shifting to a more sober stress on problems and difficulties, he avoided discussion of the subject. In the first of the succession of speeches after Raul Castro's return from Moscow, addressing the sugar workers on 17 July, he sought once again to defend the revolutionary firing squad:

"Cuba, a fortress besieged by the enemy, is weakened by treachery from within. We shall treat them as traitors are treated. We, a people incapable of kneeling, a people who will never surrender, will treat the enemy, the fifth columnists and the betrayers, as traitors. Let them not cheer too much. We have difficulties, but difficulties also make people strong.

"Even today the imperialists are organizing thousands of conspirators and criminals to repeat the crimes of the Batistianos and the agents of Yankee imperialism are in every corner of the country.... They give him a ride in an automobile and then murder our soldier. They murder a 62-year-old man in Guinea. They think that they are going to frighten the people with

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these acts. How can the people be intimidated today, when they are armed to the teeth?

"The revolution does not murder anyone. It does not torture anyone. The revolution faces its enemies with legal means, in an upright fashion. It shoots them in the name of justice. These assassins are agents whom, in many cases, imperialism trains in the United States and infiltrates on our coasts so they can commit sabotage and crime, so they may dishearten and intimidate, so they may sow terror."

In a speech at Santiago de Cuba University on 25 July, Castro continued to defend the regime's methods of coping with counterrevolutionaries:

"We do not become cruel. We defend with passion. It is logical that we defend our right to life passionately. It is just that we annihilate all those who try to violate this right to life and creation.... I understand how much propaganda is made in Latin America against the Cuban revolution and on the subject of firing squads. There is much alarm concerning it, even among our friends."... Once the Batista war criminals had been executed a halt was called to capital punishment, but this was an illusory thing to do, as it turned out.

In earlier speeches Castro had attempted to obscure the reneging on his initial promises of land distribution by blaming "rumors" that this program would not be carried through on "counterrevolutionaries." A statement made by Castro in Matanzas Province on 10 May 1962 reflects the defensive position into which he had been forced by the unpopularity of a land program which had in fact turned the cane lands into big cooperatives, the cattle ranches into state farms, and eventually the cane plantations as well into state farms:

"If it is necessary to return farms which have been improperly intervened, we will return them. We are not going to be afraid of appearing to have taken a step backward. On the contrary, if the return of farms unjustifiably intervened brings tranquility to thousands of people who have to march with the revolution, then it is best to return them. That will permit us to advance with greater strength and greater security."

Castro avoided discussion of this subject in the early months of 1962. But he returned after July to defense of the regime's land policies, declaring in a speech made to the National Sugar Cooperatives Congress on 18 August:

"Should we give each peasant a small piece of land? No! Because after one small piece of land the peasant would want a

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larger one. His livestock would multiply and soon he would not have just three; he would have 10, 20, 50 head of cattle. He would then be a large landowner, because all the land would have to produce pasture for his private livestock. No! No to those measures which would make him abandon his great duties and his work. We will not resort to individualism, which will foment selfishness, which foments differences among men. We will depend on collectivity."

First of all, there is not enough land to go around. Some of the workers on each of the plantations would not have received land, or the parcels would have had to be too small. With the cattle ranches the situation would have been worse. Breaking up the cattle ranches would have created one of the worst problems of the revolution. With the increase in meat consumption and the increased demand for shoes we would not have had as much as we do today-- and today we do not have the situation solved.

"From every point of view, and today we see it clearly, the revolution took a great and accurate step to pass from the latifundia to the centers of collective production. Despite all the difficulties, despite all the deficiencies, in any event it was a great step. You know that rural unemployment has been liquidated. You know that the problem in many rural areas is that manpower is lacking for the work that is being done."

4. Belittling of Difficulties

In a speech to transport workers on 17 July, which was published in full in EL MUNDO, Castro dealt frankly but confidently with the serious transportation problems which had plagued the regime for at least two years:

"We must take the necessary measures and we must start thinking up ways in which we can get all vehicles now held up by spare parts shortages back on the roads. As you know, we have resorted to other methods. We have used trucks, station wagons, and the like.... We have asked the comrades in the ministry to make a complete study of our needs. But the crux of the matter lies in the manufacture of spare parts--gears and pistons. This is a priority matter. Experience has shown that we can solve any problem, once we tackle it. All we need do is tackle this problem with the seriousness it merits. ... I know that transport workers have solved many of these

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problems by themselves and I know that their inventiveness has produced outstanding results. But their efforts were hampered by a lack of equipment and tools, by a lack of machines with which to make spare parts. Our equipment, most of it anyway, is American--and they cut off our spare parts supply."

Castro's speech to sugar workers on the same day displayed similar confidence:

"After the blows dealt to our economy by imperialism it is not astonishing that we should have difficulties. What is astonishing is that we have been able to resist. ... Difficulties are the factors that train and make a people great, and we will have a great people, disciplined, organized, hard-working, fighting, and we will attain unusual success in the future only if today we become a people unresentful of sacrifices. If we had an easy revolution perhaps tomorrow we would regret that fact, because we would not have had an opportunity to develop the strength, the energy, and the capabilities that we need for the really great and ambitious tomorrow that we dream about. Welcome difficulties, welcome struggle, because they will make us strong."

While Castro had continuously insisted, immediately following rationing, that it was not only essential but a welcome move as far as a majority of the people were concerned, he had largely avoided the subject during the late spring and early summer. By July, he was inclined to belittle the inconvenience of rationing and even to suggest that more, rather than less, rationing would be beneficial. Thus he said in his 26 July revolution anniversary speech:

Before ration cards existed in Havana the bourgeoisie helped each other. We had to organize rationing so that those with money could not corner everything. ... "What we did with food has to be done with other products, with priority going to those who work.... Right now the revolutionary government is distributing 5,000 refrigerators. They were not put up for sale in the stores. Do you know why? Because the man with money would buy the refrigerators and the workers would probably not be able to buy any."

We must not think of what is scarce, but rather we must think that what is scarce would not be if we worked harder. Work is an honorable thing. The bread that is eaten is not tasty if it is not earned by work.... "We must work against scarcity.

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We must produce. We must have greater agricultural production, greater industrial production. Let us do battle against our deficiencies. In production let us extract from our rich land all it can produce in order to satisfy our needs."

In acknowledging the early mistakes of his regime, Castro in this speech treated them almost as virtues:

"We wanted the revolution but we did not quite know what it was. Isn't that true? Instinct told us all that was bad. Instinct told us that all that had to be eliminated, but we did not know how. Do you think that it was only the people? It was like that for all, including ourselves. We had an idea, but we did not have the experience we have today. ... In 25 months in the hills we learned how to fight soldiers, to set ambushes, how to move up troops. We learned to wage war, but afterwards a very difficult problem arose--how to rule the country. There was no organization. There was little experience. ... However, you will remember that we never said we knew how.... We never deceived the people. None of us told the people we were great statesmen, great rulers. We said that we knew nothing but that we would learn. ... We have been steadfast. We have been faithful. We have been loyal to the people. We have worked for the people."

Addressing the Congress of National Sugar Cooperatives on 18 August, Castro casually recalled some of his unfulfilled promises, including a dairy for each cooperative and modern houses for all workers:

"In the canefields who could forget that first plan to establish a dairy farm in each cooperative, the credits that were extended, the orientations that were explored? All of these various projects... solution of the housing problem--naturally some of these projects, such as the housing problem, were impossible to solve in this short space of time. ... We have to fight to solve each and every problem. How will we solve the housing problem? It is impossible to build houses for everybody. We must not be so ambitious. We must spend only that which has to be spent to solve at least the problem of shelter, even if the shelter is not as good as the houses we see in the towns that are being built. Everything cannot be done in a year."

Castro had implied in 1959 and 1960 that excellent housing would be available to everyone in a matter of months; as a result, at one time there were

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150,000 applications on file and no more than 5,000 houses available. On the defensive in a talk to the Urban Reform Roundtable on 31 May this year, he had bluntly admitted the regime's failure to provide the promised housing and had been pessimistic about the future:

"The fact is that the number of houses available is very much smaller than the number of houses requested, and the problem cannot be resolved now, nor in one year, nor in two, and possibly not in 10 or 15 years."

5. Chiding of Workers

Addressing transportation workers on 17 July, Castro warned them that he was going to use plain language in discussing their faults, and he proceeded to read a list of complaints against transport workers filed by the public. While he also brought up workers' complaints against the public, he made clear that some of the public charges were completely justified. However, Castro's criticism was more good-natured than severe:

"Here are some of the shortcomings: absenteeism, ignorance, grouchiness, and now and then--though not for counterrevolutionary purposes--a certain laziness. Some of you do not treat your vehicles right. You don't check the oil and water when you should. You grind your gears, and so on.... I know you bus drivers have it rough. You have to work under difficult conditions. I well remember the figures, how you carried more passengers with less equipment. These are elegant figures, and if this were the first year of the revolution we would be praising you. But the revolution is three and a half years old. This is the fourth year of the revolution. And that is why we cannot pat you on the back because of the number of passengers you carried.

"You all know how some people take advantage of sick leave. In accordance with the decision of the workers the revolution changed the nine-day rule.... You don't get nine days of paid sick leave, whether you are sick or not. Not any more, you don't. Somehow there is always a doctor to sign a certificate of sickness. You understand what I mean? There are people who get drunk on Sunday and turn up waving a doctor's certificate on Monday. Some of you fail to show up on Monday, and then you want to do overtime work on Tuesday. We must take measures to stop this.

"There are people who claim to be mechanics, though they are not. These people are hired as mechanics, and before we know it they have damaged some piece of equipment. Most complaints

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against conductors involve the collection of fares, even though the passengers insist on paying."

Similarly, Castro delivered a relatively mild reprimand at the National Congress of Sugar Cooperatives on 18 August, pointing out the weaknesses of some peasants:

The worst thing was that the peasant was corrupted. When someone wants to live at the expense of the needs of others he is antisocial. He forgets that he needs the others. If we forget this we forget that each one works for everyone else, and all of us need to work for all.... "He who produces for himself first consumes everything he needs, and then if someone approaches him to pay a higher price for the goods he will sell to them. Social duties still are not understood clearly."

6. Profitable Relations With the Bloc

Castro has consistently recognized bloc economic support as essential to the maintenance of the regime. Since the signing of the first economic agreement with the USSR he has frequently paid public tribute to the "generosity" of the Soviet Union and the entire "socialist world." There was no appreciable change in this respect in the months prior to the Cuban crisis, other than increased attention to Soviet aid revolving around specific developments such as the fishing port agreement. In talking to sugar workers on 17 July, Castro said:

"We will not manufacture our first tractor until perhaps three or four years from now. We are getting them by the millions, just as we are receiving trucks and machinery. We are getting lathes by the millions, machines and equipment by the millions. ... We cannot begin to compare our situation with the hard years experienced by other countries. ... We have received so many tractors that at times we have not appreciated their value. That is why we have careless operators, careless administrators who do not take care of their tractors simply because we have them in abundance."

And to the Congress of Women on 2 October:

"We said a few days ago that already the greater part of the more serious problems of our economy are being overcome. Already the most difficult phase has been passed. Naturally in this difficult phase we have counted on a very important factor-- the solidarity of the socialist camp and particularly the

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Soviet Union. ... Today we advanced with considerable help from abroad. We must be able to know how to make good use of that help and not waste it, but rather invest it in productive enterprises."

The Paris radio on 17 October broadcast the text of an interview Castro gave to French journalist Andre Camp, in which Castro was quoted as saying:

"As you know, matters concerning the Common Market are now under discussion. The countries of Latin America are very much concerned about this. They feel that the doors to many of their basic products are being closed. We, however, do not have this concern, because fortunately we have a very large and unlimited market in which sales are assured for as much sugar as we can produce, for as many minerals as we can produce, and for as much merchandise as we can produce. ... Other countries would not have that problem had they known how to break the ties, chains, and prohibitions established by the United States. ... Never have we had fewer problems about selling than now. Selling always used to be a headache, but today there is no headache about selling. There is an assured market for everything we can produce."

Castro did not, of course, acknowledge during the interview that the entire Cuban sugar crop, as well as other exports, had been bartered for Soviet goods, including arms, and that the 1962 sugar production of 4.8 million tons--a good million tons below the average for the period just before the revolution--was insufficient to meet the commitments made to the USSR.

Castro first spoke of the prospects for Soviet aid to the fishing industry on 18 August in a dockside ceremony welcoming the crews of five Soviet trawlers in Havana harbor:

"Comrade Khrushchev found out about our difficulties and he had the idea of helping us develop our fishing industry. On the very afternoon that some comrades and I were discussing this matter a message arrived from Khrushchev about the ships that were going to be sent."

Castro explained that the fishing ships would remain, that the Soviet Union would send technicians to train Cubans in modern fishing techniques, that eventually Cuba would produce ships similar to the Soviet trawlers, and that as a result of Soviet assistance Cuba's "absurd" failure to consider fish as an important item of food would be eliminated.

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Castro devoted a large part of his speeches on 25 and 27 September, following the agreement on the establishment of a fishing port in Cuba, to Soviet "generosity" and the advantages that would accrue to both the Soviet Union and Cuba as a result of the agreement. On 10 October, in a speech welcoming President Dorticos on his return from the United Nations, Castro again dwelled on the advantages of the fishing port, pointedly answering questions that had been raised in the United States by declaring emphatically that "the port is ours; it belongs to Cuba; it will be administered by Cuba." He explained that Cubans employed at the port would go to the USSR for technical training, and that Soviet ships could use the port for repairs and refueling. He added:

"There is something more. The Soviet Union has developed a fishing industry that has far surpassed the Yankee fishing industry. ... The Russians deliver to us part of the catch of their fishing fleet to help feed our people. It is logical that these things make the imperialists rage. The fishing port has been converted into another argument for warlike agitation against us. ... What right can those who for 50 years destroyed the wealth of our country have? ... We did not have a merchant fleet. We had nothing but barges for our fishing fleet--barges that could scarcely sail away from our shores."

While Castro formerly made frequent reference to Soviet military aid, dealing in generalities, he mentioned the subject only rarely in speeches made following Raul Castro's trip to Moscow. In his 26 July anniversary speech he said:

"The Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp are forced to invest vast resources and energy in the face of the danger of an imperialist attack. The socialist countries want peace.... Imperialism, on the other hand, has promoted wars of extermination."

After the 2 September publication of the Soviet agreement to send weapons and military specialists to Cuba, Castro approached the subject indirectly in talking to National Defense Committees on 28 September:

"If the imperialists think the Soviet Government's warnings are mere words, if the imperialists do not believe--and I hope they do believe--if the imperialists underestimate the Soviet Union's solidarity with Cuba, if they make a mistake--and I hope they do not make a mistake--if they do not believe, if they do not know, we do know how far that solidarity goes."

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In addressing the Cuban Women's Congress on 2 October, he stated:

"It is time that the Yankee government leaders understand once and for all the moral quality of the Cuban people so that they will understand once and for all that they have not been able to defeat us. ... Of course, they know that their hope that we would sink economically has failed, and the other, the hope of invading, has also failed. For they can no longer invade us, or at least they cannot invade us with impunity. The matter is now flour from another sack."

Castro's warning to the United States was amplified the next day by Cuban commentator Gomez Wanguemert, who declared that when "Fidel said they can no longer invade us with impunity he was referring not only to the mercenaries--you remember how our armed people treated them at Playa Giron--but also to the powerful U.S. forces."

On 2 October Castro declared that changes had been made in Cuba that could prevent a U.S. invasion, but he professed to see this new strength in the "moral quality" of the Cuban people. By 10 October, in his speech welcoming Dorticos, he was referring to "special support" from the Soviet Union:

"Our people with their determination, our people with their heroism, won for themselves that support of the forces which defend peace; that support we receive from the socialist camp; that special support which we receive from the Soviet Union; that support which we will not renounce, because that firm support is today a curb on the imperialists."

7. Contempt for Enemies

Castro's attacks on his enemies, both internal and external, were relatively restrained during the spring and early summer of 1962, as in his 27 June speech to Schools of Revolutionary Instruction:

"It is necessary to explain to the students...that a numerous rural bourgeoisie of middle proprietors exists; that a numerous urban bourgeoisie exists, with automobiles, money, telephones, resources, gadgets, and with a certain culture; with a profound class hatred for the proletariat, with their eyes fixed on foreign lands, an enemy of the homeland, with their eyes fixed on the power of imperialism, dreaming of razing the proletarian revolution, dreaming of establishing again their odious system of exploitation and parasitism in our country, their system of hunger and poverty."

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"The students must be told how our revolution is going through a period of acute class warfare; how there exist enemies with a profound hatred of the proletariat, with their eyes turned to the night of imperialism, dreaming of liquidating the proletarian revolution. What we cannot tolerate is the revolutionary who sees the enemy on the street and does not check him, who hears the enemy speak ill of the revolution and does not immediately answer him."

"The fact is that the circumstances of our being 90 miles from the imperialists makes our condition special and the situation special, and this greatly determines the attitude of the class enemy--the special circumstances of the proximity of imperialism."

Referring in later speeches to the internal "counterrevolutionaries," Castro used sharper language. Talking to sugar workers on 17 July, he said:

"The rich invested their money in palaces and took the rest abroad. They left the people without tools with which to work. Now they say that socialism has difficulties. They are impudent, because they do not say that these are difficulties left to us by capitalism.... They rejoice in our difficulties. They try to make the world believe that those difficulties are a result of the revolution. ... Our island is surrounded by imperialism and these members of the bourgeoisie are the ones who are sowing defeatism. They and their prostitutes must be attacked when they attack the morals of the revolution."

In his 26 July anniversary speech:

"Realize that the bourgeoisie and small bourgeoisie and those with a small bourgeois mind will later attempt to counteract the effect of this day of revolutionary enthusiasm and fervor. I already know what they will begin to say. They will again complain about the difficulties."

"We want the revolution to be perfect, but criticism by a revolutionary is one thing and that made by its enemies is another. We do not accept it from enemies.... That is why study circles must be organized; schools must be organized.... We must know how to argue with the parasites, the worms, the tame counterrevolutionary dogs, the selfish."

"The counterrevolutionaries and the imperialists of the Guantanamo base have on several occasions sought to organize guerrilla fighting in Oriente, but they have not been able to

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do so. Why? There are no friends awaiting them in the mountains.... The following attitude should be adopted toward those people: Try to convince them of their error. If they are confused, explain things to them. If they turn against the revolution then be firm with them.... That is to say, we struggle against difficulties and things that are done badly, but what we must not let the counterrevolutionary do is go into the street. The street is now and always will be for the revolutionary people. The street belongs to us and we have the word.... A revolutionary must never be silent toward a counterrevolutionary, because that is like those who during war abandon position when there is danger and flee, trying to make the others flee."

To the Congress of National Sugar Cooperatives on 18 August:

The parasite cannot remain a parasite unto himself. He has to contaminate others. He wants to turn the peasants into parasites. This does not happen in a people's farm, even with all its deficiencies, all its errors, all things done badly.

In discussing his "U.S. imperialist" enemies, Castro did not markedly increase his caustic, contemptuous tone in his speeches during the three months preceding the crisis, but he did begin talking about direct attack by U.S. forces rather than "mercenaries." In the 26 July anniversary speech he said:

"The Yankee imperialists are far from resigning themselves to our revolution. The Yankee imperialists continue to plan attacks against our country.... I was saying that we must not forget the dangers that we still face. You must not be frightened by those dangers. Yet what danger would a direct invasion mean for our revolution? We must prepare ourselves for that direct invasion.... The fact is that Mr. Kennedy has the idea. Mr. Kennedy intends to attack our country. Mr. Kennedy and the U.S. Government have positively refused to give any assurances whatsoever with regard to their plans for our country."

On 29 September, talking to National Defense Committees, Castro was more specific:

"When their efforts to destroy our revolution by starving it and through an economic blockade failed, the danger of an armed attack surged again. The danger no longer was from mercenary invasions, but from direct attack. ... It is a known

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fact that the imperialists tried from the outset to prevent us from arming ourselves. It is logical to expect that those who are thinking about attacking a country do not wish the intended victim to arm itself.... Do we constitute a danger to the security of the United States? No. That is so ridiculous it is not worth talking about. Those who constitute a danger to the security of the United States are those men who are promoting war, those who promote hysteria against Cuba."

Talking to Municipal Education Councils on 11 September, Castro became more defiant:

"Where is the logic of the imperialists, those organizers of subversion, sabotage, cowardly and criminal attack, and mercenary invasions, that they can claim we do not have a right to defend ourselves.... They say that we are a danger 90 miles away; and why should we not say that they are a danger 90 miles from us? But we cannot claim any right to invade that country because it is a threat to us.... They do not consider them mad, they do not restrain or send to a mental institution those men who talk, proclaim, and urge an invasion of our country in the name of U.S. security.... They do not send any of those senators who proclaim a blockade--an act of war--to prison.... The statements made in the U.S. Congress give an idea of the imbalance of that country, the irresponsibility of the public men of that country."

In his 26 July speech Castro referred to a threat from the U.S. presence in Guantanamo (Castro and other Cuban spokesmen have consistently denied the U.S. right to remain in Guantanamo, but have not stressed the argument that continued presence of the Americans there is a danger to Cuba):

"They have used the base as a center of corruption. They have used the base to conspire against us. They have used the base to shelter criminals, to prepare bands of counterrevolutionaries, and to murder Cubans. ... We are not going to take that base away from them by force, but we shall never give up that piece of land. We shall keep claiming it until it is returned to our country.... It is a base from which they fire toward our soil. It is a base from which drunken soldiers shoot at our lines.... They hurl small bombs and they shoot. What can be expected from the type of inhabitants they have there? Mercenary soldiers work at the base. Many of them are inveterate drunkards. ... Yet in the face of all these provocations our soldiers have been ordered

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not to shoot but to endure firmly. As a matter of fact they show a superiority, higher morale, and higher discipline than the soldiers of imperialism."

While Cuban commentators have frequently referred in insulting terms to U.S. officials, the President included, Castro himself has usually refrained from invective against individual highly placed officials. In the 10 October speech welcoming Dorticos, he leveled a vituperative attack at Ambassador Stevenson:

"This contaminated atmosphere of provocation and insults is what surrounds every representative of the Cuban Revolution when he goes to the United Nations. For some time now the organization has been operating in a country which is neither capable of having nor wants to have, nor is worthy of having, the people's assembly operate there as it should."

"How did the Yankee delegate appear when our President was speaking? He looked like a criminal.... It need not be said that the U.S. delegate is highly discredited in the United Nations. ... Had the gentlemen had one iota of decency he would have resigned as U.S. delegate to the United Nations. ... For those who thought that this gentleman belonged to the liberal political groups he turned out to be a complete fraud, a total deceiver, because he demonstrated that he was a low politician, as cynical and as shameless as the other members of the Yankee ruling clique."

"How can they continue to try to confuse and deceive the world? How ridiculous they are! Do you know what they say--and what was later affirmed by the U.S. delegation? That the arms that we are bringing here are to defend ourselves from the people. The arms we have acquired and the measures we have taken--and we have taken some, some very good measures--they have the imperialists worried. ... It is possible that not even when drunk could they themselves believe such an argument. ... The imperialists have broken their fangs against the Cuban revolution. All the subversive plans failed. The indirect aggression failed. Then they began to think of direct aggression."

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B. THE PERIOD FOLLOWING THE CUBAN CRISIS

1. Avoidance of Public Appearances

Since the inception of the Cuban crisis, Castro's sole major public appearances have been his 23 October and 1 November radio-television "interviews." His only other public statements, the "five points" declaration of 28 October and his 16 November letter to U Thant, did not involve public appearances. He has been seen on television a few times, but only in connection with news reports on current events, such as the Soviet embassy reception for Mikoyan. He was not present at the main October Revolution anniversary celebration, at which Carlos Rafael Rodríguez was the principal speaker.

Prior to the crisis, Castro had delivered an average of three or four major speeches a month, either at public meetings or over television, following the pattern established during the earlier years. His current abstinence from public speeches is the longest since his advent to power.

2. Relations With the Soviet Union

Castro devoted most of his 23 October statement to arguing the justice of the Cuban attitude and the "illegality" of the U.S. position. He mentioned the Soviet Union only once, in a profession of faith and confidence in the USSR's backing of Cuba:

"Against the policy of provocation and violence, our position is to be firm and calm and to defend ourselves. The position of the Soviet Union? A calm, exemplary position. The Soviet reply has been a real lesson to imperialism: firm, calm, full of arguments, full of reasons that reduce the aggressive policy of Mr. Kennedy to its skeleton. And history will have to mark all this down, the position of one camp and the other, the position of the defenders of peace, of those who struggle to avoid for the world the tragedy of a war. History will have to note this. Mankind must struggle with hope for peace, and that hope is based precisely on the fact that the imperialists today are not the all-powerful gentlemen and masters of the world and that the imperialists cannot set out upon a war without suffering the consequences of the war they were provoking, which is extermination. That is what may stop them."

Castro's next public statement, released by Havana about three hours after Moscow made public Khrushchev's 28 October letter to President Kennedy,

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contained no more than a passing reference to "the decision announced by Premier Khrushchev to withdraw the installations of strategic defense weapons from Cuban territory."

The 1 November statement contained Castro's first, and thus far only, public admission of differences with the Soviet Union. Cautioning that these differences should not be discussed openly, in such a way that "our enemies" might profit from them, he said they must be talked over "at the level of government and party." There would, he insisted, be "no breaches" between the Soviet Union and Cuba, and he went on to profess confidence in the "principled policy" and leadership of the USSR. Again acknowledging Cuban "discontent," Castro counseled forbearance in view of, among other things, Soviet "generosity."*

Havana media have kept silent on the substance of Mikoyan's talks with the Cuban leaders during his four-week stay, but have attempted to convey the impression that he fully endorsed the Cuban position, including Castro's "five points." But the status of Cuban-Soviet relations was reflected in a dispatch filed to Warsaw by the Havana correspondent of the Polish agency PAP on 30 November. Reporting the appearance in REVOLUCION of an article by the Soviet poet Yevtushenko, the correspondent said the publication had been delayed for a month; When Yevtushenko mentioned this to Castro,

"Fidel, knowing about the article only superficially, advised him that it could be that the article may not be appearing in print because it could be misunderstood at a time when it is known that there exist certain differences of statements between the USSR and Cuba. Yevtushenko notified Franqui [the editor of REVOLUCION] of his talk with Fidel, after which the column with the three verses appeared."

And in an interview with the Havana correspondent of the London DAILY WORKER, as reported in a dispatch which the correspondent filed to his paper, Che Guevara implicitly censured Soviet handling of the Cuban crisis:

"Some people in Europe are saying that a great victory has been won. But we say that the danger is still here, and we say that while war may have been avoided, that does not mean that peace has been assured. And we ask whether in exchange for

* For a fuller account of the 1 November speech see FBIS Radio Propaganda Report CD,216 of 6 November 1962, Report No. 1 on Cuban Propaganda: "Behavior of Havana Media During the Cuban Crisis," pages 13-16.

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some slight gain we have only prolonged the agony. For so far, all that has happened is that a confrontation has been avoided."

Earlier in the interview, discussing the possibilities of a U.S. decision to attack and "liquidate" Cuba, Guevara said:

"If they attack, we shall fight to the end. If the rockets had remained, we would have used them all and directed them against the very heart of the United States, including New York, in our defense against aggression. But we haven't got them, so we shall fight with what we've got."

Asked about the present state of relations between the USSR and Cuba, Guevara affirmed Soviet-Cuban friendship only in the context of continued Soviet assistance:

"During Comrade Mikoyan's visit we went into a great number of questions with the Soviet Union. We talked frankly and fully, and each side put forward its point of view. We know that the Soviet Union is the friend that can help us most, and we are convinced that it will continue to help us. All we have done is to use our right as an independent party within the framework of the principles of international proletarian solidarity. The discrepancies are past and will not be of importance in the future. We consider ourselves part of the socialist world and absolutely faithful to Marxist-Leninist ideas."

Discussing the Cuban revolution's contribution to Marxist thought and practice, Guevara inclined toward Chinese rather than Soviet views:

"The Cuban revolution has shown that in conditions of imperialist domination such as exist in Latin America, there is no solution but armed struggle--for the people to take power out of the hands of the Yankee imperialists and the small group of the national bourgeoisie who work with them."

And he went on to explain:

"Cuba has shown that small guerrilla groups, well-led and located in key points, with strong links with the masses of the people, can act as a catalyst of the masses bringing them into mass struggle through action. . . . Guerrilla action has shown how armed forces can be beaten and how guerrillas can be converted

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into an army which eventually can destroy the armed forces of the class enemy."

The DAILY WORKER, in publishing the interview, left out Guevara's statement that if the rockets had not been removed Cuba would have directed them at the United States in the event of an attack. But the paper published all the other passages quoted above, as sent in by the correspondent.